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EFFICIENCY IN CITY GOVERNMENT

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Origin of the Movement

Through a catastrophe Galveston learned what many cities do not yet appreciate, that city government is the indispensable instrument of effective community co-operation. To equip its government to take leadership in rebuilding the wrecked city and to safeguard it from a recurrence of the disaster, the citizens of Galveston resorted to the commission plan whose growth and achievements were recently vividly described in *THE ANNALS*. Similarly, the efficiency movement in cities grew out of recognition of the dependence of community welfare upon government activity. It began in 1906 in an effort to capture the great forces of city government for harnessing to the work of social betterment. It was not a tax-saving incentive nor des're for economy that inspired this first effort to apply modern efficiency tests to municipal government, but the conviction that only through efficient government could progressive social welfare be achieved, and that, so long as government remained inefficient, volunteer and detached effort to remove social handicaps would continue a hopeless task.

The efficiency movement is not trying to convert city government into a master philanthropist. On the contrary it aims to remove city government from its isolation, and to make it the customary and accepted common agency for "getting things done" by all groups of citizens in the execution of public purposes upon which they divide either because of racial, sectarian, social, economic or political differences.

It is an attempt to substitute for fractional, isolated, incomplete, ill-equipped and cross-purpose social welfare work a city-wide, community planned and community executed program of citizen well-being. It recognizes in health work, public education, public

charities, police work, corrections, the administration of law and justice, housing control and public recreation, opportunity to deal directly with conditions engendering personal incapacity and community distress.

It is too much to say that effort to obtain efficiency in government originated with any single organization or was unknown before bureaus of municipal research began their work of co-operation with public officials. But it is probably true that not until 1906, when an experimental bureau of research was established, had any official or citizen agency directed its effort exclusively to learning the facts regarding city government and to constructive effort to promote efficient municipal administration.

Since 1906 citizens and officials of New York City have given persistent attention to the work of converting "ramshackle" into efficient government. Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Hoboken, Chicago, St. Louis and numerous smaller towns have organized and are financing agencies to bring about better city government through learning the facts regarding present government service, organization, methods and community needs.

Supplementing local work, the Metz Fund of \$30,000, established by ex-Comptroller H. A. Metz, has as its purpose, placing country-wide in the hands of municipal officials, officers of boards of trade, civic associations and chambers of commerce, precise information regarding the best administrative and accounting practices worked out in any American city. The Training School for Public Service with \$200,000 has begun an experiment in equipping men for public employment and civic work as distinct professional pursuits.

The President of the United States has organized a commission to apply the principles of efficiency to the federal government.

Each of these steps is directly traceable to the experimental test begun in New York in 1906 of basing citizen protest, citizen request, governmental plans, and administrative methods upon a scientific study of community conditions and the facts of governmental action, neglect, results and failures.

First Steps

So great has been the task, necessarily first undertaken, of instituting efficient business practices in city departments, that for these first years the major part of the work of citizen efficiency

agencies has been devoted to co-operation with public officials in reorganizing budget making, accounting, purchasing, timekeeping, store-keeping, and to providing a fact basis for administration. For this reason, despite already extensive emphasis upon health, education, housing and dependency, the idea is very general that those interested in promoting efficiency in government are concerned only with business methods, efficient accounting and the technical aspects of budget making, etc.—in short the means and methods of government rather than its aims and policies.

Systematizing public business has been necessary to equip city government to do the work already committed to it and to prepare it for the assumption of increased responsibilities. However well-conceived and well-intentioned the program of city government may be, its value to the community will depend upon the frequency with which accomplishment is checked against purposes and intentions, results achieved measured against standards of possible results, misdirection of effort and other waste detected and diverted into channels of needed activity.

While the efficiency movement aims, it is true, at efficient business administration in cities, the scope of its purpose is as wide as the five standards by which it holds municipal efficiency must be tested. These standards are:

1. Efficiency of service program or objectives towards which government activities are directed.
2. Efficiency of organization, with reference to facilitating the economical execution of the service program.
3. Efficiency of method which will provide the best means for performing each separate function and task of city government.
4. Efficiency of personnel—conceived of as a specially trained, socially minded, skilfully directed and permanently employed corps of municipal workers to man the organization, to devise, supervise and employ efficient methods and to execute an efficient program of service.
5. Efficient citizenship, equipped through intelligence regarding citizen needs, and armed with facts regarding government conditions and results, to co-operate with public officials in enlarging the usefulness of government and insuring its adherence to establish standards of efficiency.

1. *An Efficient City Program*

It is not necessary to reach out in the realms of imagination to find items for an efficient city program. Tasks already undertaken by government, badly executed or ignored, will in themselves provide a basis for measuring the adequacy of government service. Clearly to learn what government under existing laws and existing plans is responsible for is the first step in testing efficiency in city work. It frequently happens, however, that the most costly inefficiency is not extravagance or waste in executing work performed, but failure to so plan work that it will adequately meet community requirements. If departmental activities are misdirected, it is poor consolation to the taxpayer and to the public to know that taxes are comparatively low, that supplies are purchased at reasonable prices and that employees give full day's service.

Nowhere is inefficiency resulting from misdirected work more clearly shown than in the execution of public improvements. Wrong city planning and no city planning are costing American cities infinitely more than inefficiency and graft in construction of public works. It may be true that no public work in New York City has been more efficiently performed than the construction of the great East River bridges. Yet there has been no greater waste in all the hundreds of millions of dollars that the city has expended for public improvements, because planned without reference to the city's rapid transit needs, these bridges obstruct rather than facilitate the solution of this pressing problem.

Wrong location of school buildings because of lack of knowledge of the character and location of school population is not mitigated by economy and efficiency in school construction. Purchasing park lands in isolated and inaccessible sections can never be justified on the score of a bargain opportunity for acquiring real estate.

To frame an efficient city program, then, two steps are necessary: first, ascertaining the work and services that charters and general laws require and that government departments are authorized to perform, and which citizens now assume that government has undertaken; second, studying community conditions, both with reference to the already established activities of government and with reference to existing needs toward which community services have not as yet been directed.

A general social survey helps to bring together in a single picture

community conditions with which government is concerned. In large communities social surveys can best be made with reference to particular governmental functions or closely related groups of functions. Thus a study of education, health, charities, or public works departments would aim to produce facts regarding the scope and efficiency of present activities and the education, health, charitable or public improvement needs of the city as yet unaffected by the plans or activities of the departments in question.

Obviously, efficient health work is impossible without knowledge of community health condition. This fact is so commonly recognized that health departments, wherever they are more than "nuisance" inspectors, require the registration of births, deaths and communicable or contagious sickness because these give notice to health authorities of conditions currently demanding action. But merely to record statistics does not improve health or stamp out disease. Health statistics should lead to examination of causes. Determining causes should prompt action for their removal.

Up to 1909, the health department of New York confined itself in its anti-tuberculosis work to requiring physicians to report cases, transferring to hospitals cases in the last stage of the disease, and experimenting in the sanitarium on treatment of incipient cases. In 1909, on the basis of maps showing the number of reported cases and their frequency in congested areas, and a study of environmental conditions, the department received funds to conduct a continuous educational campaign in the families of all tuberculosis patients where private physicians were not in attendance. Since then it has directed and encouraged the tuberculous poor in habits of living which both minimize the danger of contagion and improve the patient's chances for cure.

In child hygiene work, it required a great many years for New York's health authorities to associate high infant mortality with parental ignorance and impure milk. When this fact was discovered the measures of attack included home visits to sick babies, educational placards distributed in the tenements, and class room instruction among school girls in elementary hygiene of child-care. But a marked reduction in infant mortality was not brought about until study of home conditions showed that tenement mothers needed in addition an opportunity to obtain pure milk and timely advice and medical attention in advance of the sickness of their babies.

In the first six months of municipally conducted milk depots and baby clinics, supplemented with home visiting by nurses, 1,110 lives were saved.

Sectional surveys of city conditions bring forward at once increased opportunities for effective community co-operation. For some time past there has been in progress, under the direction of Comptroller Prendergast, a study of New York City's relations to private charitable institutions. This study began to determine the efficiency and economy with which city funds, now aggregating \$5,000,000, are expended by these institutions. But infinitely more important than the many opportunities for better management which the study revealed was the evidence brought forward that, however efficiently the institutions themselves might be conducted, the city, so long as it confined its efforts to present activities, could not deal efficiently with problems of public dependency.

Thousands of children are publicly supported in private institutions, committed because of the death or dependency of their parents. The reasons for their commitment are methodically recorded in great registers in the children's bureau. Once a year the causes of commitment are summarized and published in the report of the department of charities. They show that illness, death and desertion are the principal reasons which lead parents to give over to the city the care of their children. But despite its records and despite the apparent preventability of these causes, the city still limits its concern for needy children applying for commitment to placing them in institutional homes.

No city government, no citizen agency, no community can achieve efficiency in any branch of city service merely by bringing about precision, orderliness and economy in the performance of existing tasks. City government must match its efforts against a background of knowledge regarding opportunities for service. In Milwaukee, where a Bureau of Efficiency and Economy has been established by the city government, a definite part of the Bureau's program is to study such questions as unemployment, free legal aid and women's wages. The new mayor of Schenectady proposes to make the city government a laboratory of social inquiry in order that every social need of the community which may be satisfied by co-operative action may be brought to the attention of the public and officials, and where funds and limited powers permit, may be incorporated into the program of government service.

HOW A CITY'S SOCIAL PROGRAM EXPANDS WHEN FACTS OF NEEDS ARE LEARNED

Division of Child Hygiene, New York City

S. JOSEPHINE BAKER, M.D., Director

1912 Child Hygiene Budget \$582,895

<i>Activity Before Investigation of Needs, 1908</i>	<i>Investigation</i>	<i>Activity After Investigation of Needs, 1912</i>
A (1) School children inspected for physical defects.	Tests to show that parents will obtain treatment if need is explained verbally by nurses or inspectors.	Clinics for treatment of children found with defects. Vigorous follow-up work all year round by nurses explaining to parents necessity for treatment.
(2) 70 per cent of children found defective.		Dental clinics requested.
(3) Postal cards sent to parents advising treatment. Result 8 per cent reported treated.	88 per cent of children found defective treated in test by follow-up methods.	85 per cent of children with defects reported treated in 1911.
B (1) Relief work, sick babies treated.		Preventive measures adopted, babies kept well.
(2) Babies visited only when parents, inspectors or charity societies report baby sick and parents are unable to employ physicians.	Study showed ignorance of mothers and bad milk responsible for baby deaths.	55 milk depots established. All year round campaign. Instruction to mothers in homes, medical advice to mothers for infants in depots.
(3) Visits made only in summer time.	Summer campaign started to test efficacy of education by nurses at home visits, little mothers' leagues, mothers' classes, etc.	Special "baby" milk provided for tenement mothers at reasonable rates.
(4) Result — infant mortality from diarrhoeal diseases totals 5,000 per annum.	Milk depots experimented with.	Saving of lives of babies under one year in 6 months' experiment, 1,183 — all causes.

The program and objectives of city government action will continually change with the growth of population and the heightening of demands upon government service. But, in framing the budget of expenditures, annual opportunity is given to cities to revise their programs, to redirect the activities of their departments, to extend or to check them. Scientific budget-making recurrently presents the occasion for using facts regarding community conditions and governmental service in promoting government's usefulness and efficiency.

For years the board of estimate and apportionment of New York City has refused to grant full amounts requested by the health and charities departments because it was not convinced that moneys asked for were needed to protect the city's health or to care for its destitute.

Reluctance to appropriate has been partly attributable to the uncertainty that funds requested would be used with fullest efficiency. But it has also been due to the fact that neither of the requesting departments, the community, nor the board of estimate and apportionment, had definitely pictured to itself the wide gap existing between health and charitable services now rendered and the health and charitable needs of the city.

2. Efficiency in Organization

The general features of city organization are properly and usually determined by charter provision. But to provide for a board of commissioners, a mayor and council, a commissioner of police, a director of public safety, or a commissioner of public works, is not making provision for an organization to conduct the general city government, or police, fire and public works departments. The major divisions of municipal activity consist of groups of sub-functions, each involving a special character of work and requiring special forms of organization and special ability and training on the part of supervisors.

Fortunately, legislatures or charter commissions are not required to frame schemes of charter organization out of whole cloth. Even commission government is not new under the top. Charter legislation is now generally charter revision or charter rearrangement. Even where charters are first drafted by well intentioned citizen amateurs, lines of activity and forms of organization are more or less affected by existing activities and existing organization.

Fanciful innovations may be made to correct assumed existing defects in organization because they seem to those who frame them especially ingenious devices for obtaining efficient government. But just as a wise program of service for government must be based on knowledge of existing conditions, so a plan of departmental and internal departmental organization must be based upon an understanding of the existing organization, its merits, defects, ability or failure to meet service requirements.

Perhaps the most scientific attempt to frame a charter for any American city was that made by the Ivins Commission appointed for New York City by Governor Hughes in 1909. When this commission began its work considerable dissatisfaction prevailed with the existing government of New York City. Various city departments had for several years been undergoing investigation which revealed innumerable breakdowns and a general low state of efficiency. A great many theories had been formulated to correct defects so made known. Members of the commission themselves had either held public office, were public officials during their time of membership in the commission, or were active in public work, and were, in consequence, possessed of definite views regarding changes.

The commission, proceeded, however, on the assumption that intelligent charter revision could not be accomplished without first hand, fresh knowledge of how government is now organized and how it now conducts its work. Actual organization and actual procedure could not be learned from a study of the charter. Heads of departments, never having analyzed the machinery under their direction, could not be called upon to give an accurate description of how it was constituted and how it operated.

The Bureau of Municipal Research, therefore, was requested to chart the organization of every city department to show by schedules what was being done, who was doing it, the organization provided, and the exact powers and duties of every unit in the departmental structure. For the first time what the city government was in fact was shown graphically. By reference to the charted plan of organization and schedules of powers and duties, discussion of defects in organization was immediately definitized. Overloaded divisions, underloaded divisions, conflicts in authority, overlapping or incongruous functional responsibilities were brought to light. By means of these organization charts it was possible to guard against

omissions in the revised charter, and to learn where it was wise to prescribe definite forms of organization, and where discretion in this regard should be left to local boards or officials.

In summary, efficient planning of organization for charter prescription will therefore, include:

1. Study of existing organization and relation to powers and duties.
2. Reclassification, if needed, by functional groups.
3. Eliminating incongruities of functional responsibilities or excessive or under responsibility.
4. Eliminating conflicts of jurisdiction.
5. Centralizing all activities of one kind, so far as possible, under one general administrative control.
6. Leaving to local authorities and administrators determination of details of organization, divisional structure and distribution of duties.

The actual task of building up an efficient administrative machine falls to the lot of the administrator. It is for him to place the right man in the right place, to functionalize work and group subordinates, to clarify responsibility and the relations of subordination, to specify with definiteness the tasks to be performed by each employee considered with reference to kind, quantity and time of performance. Efficient organization will not only be specific in the assignment of duties, but will provide for efficient supervision, facility of contract between supervisors and subordinates, on the one hand, and between supervisors and executives on the other, for conference on work plans of organization problems and for flexibility so as to avoid recurring periods of over-pressure and under-pressure.

When President McAneny began the reorganization of the departments of the Borough of Manhattan he found in the Department of Public Works five separate accounting offices, each maintaining its original books of entry, its independent appropriation and fund ledgers, and employing separate and unsupervised staffs of bookkeepers and accountants. A single set of departmental accounts, one accounting office under one supervisor, has taken the place of the five independent offices, and not only does the work formerly committed to the five with lower expenditure, but with infinitely greater accuracy and usefulness.

Four different divisions of the Department of Public Works dealing with fractions of the problem of maintaining sidewalks, Mr. McAneny consolidated into one, with a reduction in force from 35 to 15. Under old conditions each division foreman attempted to justify the continuance of his special service by manufacturing work to do and spreading out as thinly as possible work actually required. Under reorganization, with centralized responsibility for every feature of sidewalk maintenance work—street signs, sub-surface vaults, incumbrances and paving—no task is completed until all others are completed, and, because of the concentration of thinking and action with respect to the whole problem, noteworthy improvement has resulted in sidewalk conditions.

As formerly constructed, before its "reorganization from top to bottom," the finance department of the city of New York consisted of a series of separate jurisdictions presided over by practically independent division chiefs theoretically responsible to the comptroller, but because of a monopoly of information, practically exercising undisputed sway each in his own jurisdiction. Accounting and auditing functions were so broken up that each separate step invited the establishment of an official principality. In each of these separate divisions were separate staffs and separate records containing information frequently recorded in similar records maintained by other divisions of the department.

Under reorganization, accounting and auditing functions are centralized, detached auditing bureaus brought together under one control, every step in the process of audit and accounting definitely prescribed, and necessary information recorded in one place for the common use of every officer or interested employee of the department.

Few city departments will retain their present organization if commissioners or directors will have existing organizations diagrammed, functions listed in detail, and actual duties described. An honest photograph of the average city department will generally lead an efficient head to take one of the following steps:

1. To group and centralize control over like general functions.
2. To put together detailed activities belonging together.
3. To place emphasis upon important work now carried on as a "side issue."
4. To divide work now done by one employee among two or more (rarely).

5. To give to one employee work now done by two or more (often).
6. To abolish unnecessary steps, work, and positions, "old fashioned" habits, private memorandum records, soft snaps, drudgery, "free lance" jobs, irresponsibility in subordinates, "roving commissions," permanent "special" assignments, laxity or redundancy in supervision and conflicts in authority.

3. Efficiency of Method

Wrong, roundabout, old fashioned, slovenly methods cling to city government as a last refuge from the Juggernaut Efficiency. Even commission government gives shelter to work methods that efficient private enterprise discarded a generation ago. Adoption of the board-of-directors analogy to private business organization has not dispelled the false notion that, because of peculiar governmental conditions, public business methods must be different from private business methods. Contagion in commission government has not meant contagion in the adoption of efficient business methods. Houston in 1902 installed a modern system of accounting—such as one would find in a well conducted private undertaking. It gives to public and officials alike a true picture of the city's financial operations. This system was the one asset of efficiency handed down from the old government which the commission plan succeeded in 1905. The success of Houston's new government has inspired scores of cities to try the commission plan, but in adopting the new form they have ignored Houston's splendid example in good accounting.

Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas, are only a few miles apart. Both are important commission governed cities aiming at efficiency, yet each goes its own way in respect to business methods. Fort Worth has adopted Houston's asset and liability accounting system. Dallas continues on a cash receipt and disbursement basis. Fort Worth has a modern, centralized purchasing agency cutting down the cost of supplies. Dallas continues the wasteful practice of permitting each department head to purchase his own supplies.

Interchange of experience has been more difficult between cities conducting the public's business than among competitive private business undertakings. City comptrollers sometimes convene for discussion, but spend valuable time in protesting the superiority

of their particular "systems" and heckling those who have the temerity to suggest improvements. State governments, theoretically empowered to regulate municipal as well as private corporations, delight in devising as many different ways for cities to conduct the same kinds of business as the ingenuity of legislators is able to suggest. More cities have imitated New York's White Way than have adopted its efficient budget or accounting system, or would ever have heard of them had it not been for the persistent educational campaigns of citizens' agencies.

Uniform charters have not meant uniform efficiency of methods that determine the success or failure of any charter plan. New Jersey, under Governor Woodrow Wilson, is taking leadership in adding to a uniform commission government law, a uniform business code, including procedures for assessments, purchases, budget making, accounting, public improvements and the rest of the ninety per cent of city business that can be conducted in only one best way in cities of comparable size, and that way the best for all of them.

This issue of THE ANNALS will contain many papers describing steps already taken by New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and other cities to put efficient methods into operation. They will iterate and reiterate such terms as, *unifying, standardizing, systematizing, clarifying, co-ordinating, controlling*, which are the veritable shibboleths of the efficient city government campaign. They represent the processes now employed to drive waste out of city government and to make graft unprofitable because of sure detection. For six years archaic city business methods have been under attack. New York has now an accounting system equalling that of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Learning the art of standardization of supplies from the Union Pacific and the Canadian Pacific Railways, New York is setting an example to every American city in definite description of articles to be purchased, selection of articles with sole reference to requirements and far seeing economy, and in testing and inspecting deliveries to ensure their exact conformance with exact specifications. To interpret the specifications both for purposes of bidding and for purposes of inspection, it has begun the development of a standard room where examples of the articles specified will be available for examination. In its new municipal building it will conduct a testing laboratory unexcelled in the United States. All these steps have been taken to ensure accuracy and economy in purchases in a city where six

and even fewer years ago practically every supply contract or order was an invitation to exploiters to gouge. Messrs. Lindars and Sands in their paper on budget making¹ tell the story of New York City's budget revolution. By substituting methods of precision for pull and guess work, light for darkness, critical examination for dark lantern forays, the budget has been made the most telling instrument for progressiveness and efficient management in the hands of responsible officials and an intelligent public. Efficient budget methods automatically save millions a year, whose waste in the grab bag era never came to light.

The work of uprooting old methods and installing new (new to city government) has by no means been completed. Perhaps New York has been raised from forty per cent to sixty-five per cent efficiency, but hardly more than that. It is estimated that still one-tenth of a ninety million dollar pay roll is wasted by unnecessary employment, low grade service or misdirected energy. This may be high, although the waste is undoubtedly very great, as Mr. Welton's paper shows.² For example, Commissioner Thompson, of the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity, states that he is compelled to waste \$100,000 a year merely because restrictive civil service laws prohibit the facile removal of veterans, including volunteer ex-firemen "billeted" on the city through its pay rolls. Enormous waste still continues in supply purchases, because the work of standardization is only getting under way and because New York still purchases its supplies through seventy-five purchasing agents instead of one. But the waste remaining no longer terrifies the conscientious official or city betterment worker. Mystery has been taken from it. It is no longer regarded as the discouraging, inevitable accompaniment of public business management but as a fungus growth which energy, light and scientific methods quickly destroy.

4. Efficiency of Personnel

Where there is method, record and publicity, many incompetent employees cultivate efficiency. Employees in boiler rooms respond almost automatically to the tell-tale of recording devices, showing water and coal used, amount of steam developed, current generated. Supervision, comparison time reports, cost data, efficiency records—

¹ See page 138.

² See page 103.

all prove powerful stimuli to the slothful worker and encouraging incentives to the energetic.

With new standards of service, organization and method, new standards of personnel develop. New motives in city government will shift the basis of effort to improve the quality and character of city employees. Civil service reform to protect communities from exploitation by the spoilsmen in office will increasingly become less necessary than civil service reform to help to success the public official who wants to make good. Efficient officials cannot afford to dispense with experienced efficient employees because of political affiliations or partisan inactivity. Efficiency-determined communities cannot afford to erect barriers to dismissal of employees who do not measure up to new standards of serviceability.

Permanency in city employment is important, but less important than capacity and willingness to serve. The battle against the spoilsmen has made civil service reformers more intent on competition before appointment than upon performance after appointment. Service records, time sheets, efficiency tests, formulation of work "routines" will vitalize the now too theoretical power of discharge for incompetence. Three years ago it was an "insult" and humiliation to require a city employee to keep time records. Now time sheets and service records based upon them are supplanting impression and pull in determining fitness for promotion.

Direct primaries, non-partisan and preferential voting, give to the electorate opportunity for free selection of elective officials. The recall or removal on charges, as exercised by Governors Hughes and Dix in the State of New York, make abuse of office or official incompetency less likely to escape with impunity. But just as competitive selection on technical or educational tests has failed to produce the specially trained employee, so these new devices of popular control will fail to produce specially equipped candidates for office. City government needs special training of personnel, elective as well as appointive, both before and after employment. Germany for years has conducted public service schools. Cincinnati, beginning this year, through its municipal university, is providing field training in government service. The Training School for Public Service conducted by the Bureau of Municipal Research in New York is a private demonstration of a public need that will presently, no doubt, lead to the establishment of special training courses for public

service in public educational systems and in universities and technical schools. Indeed, since the opening of this school, the College of the City of New York has announced courses for city employees, designed to prepare them for higher positions.

Social service training of city visiting nurses, accountancy instruction for city bookkeepers, practical courses in administration for subordinate administrative officers, instruction in municipal engineering problems where these differ from private engineering problems, offer immediate opportunities for bettering public service.

Schools of this character are appreciated in private business. The New York Edison Company conducts a practical school for its employees and aims to prepare those who complete the course for responsible positions in the service of lighting companies. The course is not compulsory, but those among the employees who do not think it worth while to take it, the company does not think it worth while to consider as available for important advancement. Similar schools are conducted by other industrial establishments.

Cities have no greater problem than the training of personnel. Employees cannot be efficient unless they feel the incentive which comes from definite opportunities ahead. The city that first learns to deal with its working forces on some other basis than abuse, indifference, cajolery, favoritism or fear will come very near discovering the secret of efficient government. Promotional systems based upon work and service tests, retention based upon efficiency records, compensation, equalized without reference to political drawing-of-water or hewing-of-wood, standardized on the basis of reasonable standards of living and like compensation for comparable service in private employment are problems efficient government workers must promptly attack. Chicago through its civil service commission is taking the first steps in this direction. New York's board of estimate and apportionment has "resolved" to follow suit. But other cities lag far behind. Commission government has not generally included even competitive selection of employees. Far famed Galveston has no civil service law and is prohibited by its charter from going outside of the tiny island upon which it is built to find its employees, big or little. Milwaukee had to dismiss an efficient commissioner of public works because he happened to live in another beloved state at the time of his appointment. The New York legislature, at the suggestion of a Tammany Assemblyman has recently

been considering a law making it mandatory for public employees in that state to conform to the benighted Wisconsin rule both before and after appointment.

The tinsel superiority of the conspicuous officeholder establishes autocracy in city departments where co-operation should rule. Bootlicking is still expected by many public officeholders, although private business has long ago learned that conferences with employees, participation in work planning and participation in credit for work done increases dividends.

5. Efficient Citizenship

All the steps taken to develop efficient government provide as well for advancing the efficiency of citizens in their dealings with government. For most citizens having livings to earn, contact with government facts must either be confined to some special line of activity or must be a vicarious contact established through a civic agency. Whatever intelligence the average citizen will have regarding the details of government will continue to be gained as now, either from personal observation of physical conditions or from newspaper accounts. Where a fact basis for information regarding city business is developed newspapers will provide facts instead of gossip, hearsay or scandal.

The 1911 New York budget exhibit was visited by nearly a million persons, but the facts which it presented regarding city finances and needs were read by millions of readers of countless columns of newspaper discussion. Any citizen can tell when the pavement before his door is neglected or when city water is discolored, but no citizen can generalize on these observations or learn from them anything at all regarding the city's actual efficiency.

Where government is progressive a progressive commercial organization is likely to be found. Commission government, for example, is often made a part of the progressive programs of "boosting" commercial organizations.

Boards of trade, chambers of commerce, city clubs, women's clubs, churches and taxpayers' associations are the types of agencies existing in most communities which may profitably make the interpretation of city facts a part of their regular activities.

The first need of citizen efficiency is adequate publicity of city facts. Municipal reporting is still a wordy, uninforming and hopelessly unreadable utterance of miscellaneous items. A very definite

obligation of the efficiency effort is to develop standard city reporting. A city report to get inside the minds of citizens, however intelligent, must be brief, prompt, explicit and so framed as to throw into prominence significant facts that tell the story of action and efficiency quickly. City reports most everywhere are still intended for printing only and not for reading, understanding or interpretation.

If school children, instead of being taught the profound (rapidly disappearing) differences between judicial, executive and legislative functions, were taught how to read city reports and what are the significant facts to look for and demand, intelligent citizens might come to include in their intelligence some idea as to what is going on in the city hall.

Take for example health. Why should not a high school pupil learn that the efficiency of the health department may be gauged by some such facts as:

The death rate.

The infant mortality rate.

The measles, scarlet fever and diphtheria rates (morbidity and death).

The bacteria count of milk—maximum, minimum and average.

The number of school children treated for defects.

The number of nuisances abated, etc., etc. All as compared with previous periods.

At least quarterly a consolidated comparative report of significant efficiency test items should be published by every city government. From ten square inches to a postal card should meet the space requirements of these statements in accordance with the size of the city and the number of its municipal activities.

Civic intelligence does not depend upon making every public spirited inhabitant of a city a fact depository regarding city business. A very large majority of citizens, however, now belong to some organization the success of whose work depends in part or at least on one or more of the activities of government.

Conference and co-operation between business organizations or social workers' associations on budget matters, public improvements, school and health needs, and joint action wherever that is

possible will accomplish results with greater feasibility than the isolated activity, petitions or clamor of a dozen isolated organizations. Every city pretending to want efficient government should have a citizen supported fact center through which each of these organizations may operate to learn of government activity and to influence government work.

Enlightened self-interest when turned toward government may lead to improvement. Taxpayers demanding economy may effect economy by helping in the work of administrative betterment. Better administration enables greater activity in health, charity and education. Automobilists, dreading bumps and wrenched cars, furnish an always available support for effort to improve street pavements. The Italians of East Side Manhattan recently conducted an exhibit to show from their own standpoint the governmental needs of their locality. Appeals to the pocket interest of women clubs give backing to weight and measures campaigns benefiting all. Every motive for good government must be availed of. To show that women are intelligent enough regarding public questions to vote, a woman's club in a Hudson River village is planning a budget exhibit. The demonstration will doubtless win converts to equal suffrage but by energizing the village government the exhibit will help the most ardent anti-suffragists.

Citizens of larger cities must frankly recognize the need for professional service in behalf of citizen interests. Bureaus of municipal research concentrate on one point of attack, the community interest of groups of citizens. Even efficient private citizens cannot deal helpfully with expert governmental questions.

Efficient citizens will evidence their efficiency by supporting constructive effort for governmental betterment by readiness to understand facts and to co-operate when special problems arise, and will insist that all organized welfare effort relating to any matter affected by government action or service shall seek to establish efficiency in government as the first step in improving community conditions. The most inefficient citizen is one who sends his child to a private school *because* public schools are inefficient, who collects his own garbage *because* public collectors are unreliable, who paves his own street *because* a highway bureau is incompetent, or employs his own watchmen *because* police are undependable. Community welfare is made up of the individual welfare of the inhabitants of a community.

Few men or women are so free from dependence on government service that, once their indifference is overcome, enlightened self-interest will not stimulate them to co-operate in effort to promote efficient government. Where self-interest fails there remains civic pride, social interest and public spirit which now and again really do help in the warfare against inefficient government.